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821 by the events narrated in the story of Lingutaimoa and her pet *manini* fish (1).

Seasons

821 The native Pukapukan year was divided into seasons (*vaia*). The sign
805 for the new year was the morning rising of the Pleiades, about the middle
132 of May. This ushered in a period of six moons of pleasuring, *ono maina*
221 *utuutu* (*utuutu* is a jumping game, and presumably the word is a symbol of good feelings engendered by sporting contests). Some informants dated this period from the rising of the Pleiades, others from the first new moon after the rising. Hence it comes between the May-June and October-November moons. The cool trade winds blow steadily from the southeast, deep-sea fish are plentiful, and the sea outside the reef in the lee of the atoll is always calm enough to render it possible to catch these fish. This season, though marked at times by a shortage of talo, is usually well provided with fish and nuts. It is the time for competitive sports, for deep-sea voyages, and for well-being. The period is introduced by feasting and dancing.

The six pleasure months are followed by six tapu moons (*ono maina ya*) from November to April. It is a period of heavy and changeable winds, possible hurricanes, excessive heat, and sultry weather. Deep-sea fish are not plentiful, and heavy seas sometimes make fishing arduous. Food comes from reef fishing and beach fishing for smaller fish. The supply of talo is plentiful if there has been no destruction of tubers during the preceding season. There was formerly little dancing, feasting, or chanting during this period, except at deaths. Compared with the moons of pleasure, these moons mark a time of stagnation of group activities, when only routine matters are kept in hand.

Another native classification gives three seasons, cutting across the dual division. The rainy season (*te vaia yua*), lasting from November to March, starts when the wind swings round from the south to the northwest and wild ducks are sighted flying southward. At this time the people of Yato village repair their houses and reroof them, because this village bears the brunt of the winds from the north and west. It is a season for good growth of trees, nuts, and talo; fishing is bad, but turtles come onto the outer beaches at the beginning of the period. The marine worm (*palolo*) is not known in Pukapuka so there is no *palolo* season to usher in this period. The season for fair weather (*te vaia lolei*) lasts from March to June when fishing is good and there is still much rain and plenty of food. The season of scarcity
221 (*te vaia to te onge*) lasts from July to October. There is little rain, the talo turns yellow and does not produce tubers in any abundance. Growth of coco-
312 nuts is marked by a midwinter pause; though not plentiful, they are generally sufficient for the needs of the population. Deep-sea fishing is good but water

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stage of transition from matrilineal to patrilineal descent wherein the point of equilibrium had not long been passed in favor of patrilineal descent." This is strikingly parallel to Pukapuka, but unfortunately Kennedy's analysis of Vaitupuan social structure is so unclear that no more particular comparisons may be made.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Age Groups

Pukapukan society has a well-developed system of age grades through which each individual passes. Political functions for the island as a whole were at one time exercised by men of the oldest age group, the *tupale*. These men served as an advisory council to the chief (*aliki*), who might be of any age group. Control of village affairs was and is nominally in the hands of all the men of the village, though older men naturally have more power because of their experience; women have no formal political duties. Membership in successive age groups was determined by the functioning of a mechanism called *tai tangata*:

> The age of a person is reckoned from birth. The first woman to give birth to a first-born child in each season of six months, whatever her paternal or maternal lineage or her village, announces that her child is the *tai tangata* for that six-month period, which is then called *te tahalonga o Mea* (the year—six months—of So-and-so). All other children born in the same period are classed in the age group of this *tai tangata* and are known collectively as a *tai tangata* group. Hence a man says: "Koe wanau au i te tahalonga o Mea" (I was born in the year of So-and-so), or, "Ko Mea, te wakanuaki o taku tai tangata" (So-and-so is the first-born of my *tai tangata*). If, as occasionally happens, no first-born child is born in the *meime utuutu* (pleasure moons), then the eldest first-born child of the succeeding *meime ju* (tapu moons) becomes the *tai tangata* of the preceding *meime utuutu*, and all children born during the twelve-month period are classed with this *tai tangata*. There is thus a slight variability in *tai tangata* periods, but the important thing to remember is the serial temporal order of the *tai tangata*. This enables a person to reckon his age with sufficient accuracy for practical purposes. One *tai tangata* group succeeds its predecessor in progressing from one age grade to the next. No mnemonic device is used to keep track of the order of *tai tangata*.

The Pukapukans named a number of age grades or life periods:

Kaiāpepeni (child covered by a mat): infant up to the age of about 3 months.
Kaimomoe (sleeping child): infant from 4 to 12 months.
Kamoto (immature coconut): boys and girls from walking age to about 10 years, also called te tamaliki or te kamaliki (children).
Tamalonga and tautitinga (to put on a malo or kilt): youths and girls who have reached sociological adulthood.
Kiwatangalon: young people who have assumed first responsibilities as adults; more commonly called loga and tamawawine.
Tino and wawine: married men and women, adults with families.
Matiwaka or tangata matua: older men and women of the community, from the age of about 50 years on.
Tupale: the old, grey-haired men of the community, sometimes called in general te kau matua.

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514 sea water. To defecate is *uukapeyi*. The lower Cook Islands word *titiko* is today more commonly employed by both adults and children. The attitude toward the act of evacuating is highly matter-of-fact. No need for privacy is felt. Persons going along paths to the beach are greeted by the phrase, "Ka wo kotou titiko?" (Are you going to defecate?). They answer, "Eke, ka wo matou titiko" (Yes, we are going to defecate). A special word, *taeyi*, is applied to loose movements resulting from eating large quantities of fat.

TIDES

823 The Pukapukan has empirical knowledge of tidal movements of the sea. He knows that the ebb and flow of the tide is associated with the moon, and that a rising moon causes the tide to rise, though he has no reason, mythological or other, to explain this coincidence. The movements of the tide are described in eleven stages:

Tai wengi: *dry reef.*
Kua tuuuva te tai } : the sea swells.
Kua pupu te tai }
Kua pi te tai: the tide floods over the reef and into the lagoon.
Kua eko te tai ki ngaaua: the tide ripples on the beach.
Kua wowoua te tai: the tide rises higher on the beach.
Kua tu te tai: the tide is steady and high.
Kua payake te tai: the tide turns to the ebb.
Kua yoke ki te ula: the tide runs out to a dry reef.
Kua wakaalaala te tai: the tide leaves the reef rocks dry.
Kua wakiki te tai: the tide is completely out (literally, the sea is completely full).

High tide is commonly referred to as *tai tala*, low tide as *tai kiki*.

TIME

805 A day is *ayo*; today is *te ayo nei*; tomorrow, *te taeyao*; the day after tomorrow, *te toe ayo*. Yesterday is simply *te ayo* or *te ayo i mua*; the day before yesterday, *te toe ayo ki mua*.

Times of the day are descriptively named, but events are adequately timed by the use of the following terms:

Te uu o te ata mutua: the darkness before dawn.
Te ata uuoa: first streaks of light appear in the sky.
Te ata kena: gray dawn.
Te ulanga ata: yellow dawn or red dawn.
Te kakaanga o te tupua } : the sun crawls out of a hole like a crab (tupua). (The rising
Te wiinga o te tupua } sun is pursued tupua, the risen sun is.)
Puia te la: the sun rises higher.
Kua tutu nui te la: the sun stands above.
Kua tutuna nui te la: the sun is overhead.
Kua tutuna mahake: the sun is directly overhead.
Kua angahee te la: the sun starts moving down.
Kua tatuua te la: the sun is to the side.

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805 Koa taupale te la: the sun is lower.
Koa to te la: the sun falls.
Koa ngoto te la: the sun sinks.
Koa mamalu te po: dusk.
Koa yeyetgi te po: the night begins to darken.
Koa po te po: the night is dark.
Te pouli: complete darkness.
Te pouli kelekele: black night.
Te pouli mata newu: dark when stars are dim.
Koa vaelua te po: the night is divided into two.
Koa vave te po: the night is finishing.
Koa vave ki ao: dawn quickens.
Te ulu o te ata matua: darkness before dawn.

Where it is necessary to be more accurate in naming the time at sunrise, as in making arrangements for fishing parties to leave the villages, one of the following descriptive names is used:

Koa wenake te ulu ata matua: the first white shadows appear.
Koa wenake te ata kena: white shadows grow, the gray dawn.
Koa wenake te ata maoa: there is more light in the sky.
Koa kitia te kili o te tangata: it is light enough to see the color of a man's skin.
Koa wenake te ata kula: there is red light in the sky, red dawn.

For ordinary purposes, only general reference is made to one of the major divisions of the day: *te taeyao* (morning), *te tutonunga la* (midday), *te taupalonga la* (afternoon), *te auiaui* (evening or dusk), *te po* (night).

195 Four idiomatic expressions are commonly used to refer to ancient times or happenings of long ago. They are: *no te vaia o Mawu, no te vaia o Lotunga, no te vaia o Uihili, no te vaia o te taiwehe.* The word *vaia* means "time" or "age". The last expression refers specifically to the time when the land was rising from below the sea, to the time of the "octopus of the sea", by transfer, to very ancient periods. The proper names in the remaining three expressions probably refer to early ancestors, perhaps to early and forgotten generation levels. No history is remembered about the names themselves, but the expressions are used in stories or conversation to give greater emphasis and vividness to narratives of olden times. Seasons and six-moon periods (*takalonga*) have been discussed (p. 24).

805 [177] Pukapukan informants today name 31 nights of the moon. As in western Polynesia, the names are descriptive, not proper names. Native custom elsewhere commonly names 29 or 30 nights, usually 30. It is possible that the Pukapukans have added an extra descriptive term to bring an old list of names into conformity with European practice. No names are remembered for the succession of moons throughout the year. Pau states that formerly the Pukapukans had names for 13 moons, but that these have been forgotten today. He suggested that some untranslatable words in old chants may

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805 he names of these moons, but it is a matter impossible to decide today. The names of the nights of the moon are:

1. Koa makatia e te la: (the moon is) thrown out by the sun.
2. Po wakaata: making shadows of the night.
3. Po pula: the night is spotted.
4. Po lua: the second night.
5. Po tolu: the third night.
6. Po va: the fourth night.
7. Po lima: the fifth night.
8. Koa tutu te maina: the moon is erect, or stands high.
9. Koa itu wenua: the land is divided into two (by the moon?).
10. Koa tu mai loa ki luuga te maina: the moon is on high.
11. Koa ngalue te maina: the moon moves (higher).
12. Koa wolo te maina: the moon is big.
13. Koa wolo loa te maina: the moon is very big.
14. Koa momona te maina: the moon is fat.
15. Koa maliko te maina: the moon shines or glimmers.
16. Koa wakaalu te maina: the moon is overhead.
17. Koa yengie te maina: ? (refers to the night when the crabs mate).
18. Te lama yengi: the yellow light, or the yellow torch.
19. Te ulaaki kau pouli: the first-born of the group of dark nights.
20. Wakatai: to make the first dark night.
21. Wakalua: to make the second dark night.
22. Wakatolu: to make the third dark night.
23. Lama wakatau: the (time for) torch fishing is equal (to the length of moonlight).
24. Koa loa te po: the night is long.
25. Koa ngalue ki ngake: (the moon) moves to the east.
26. Koa walai loa ki ngake: (the moon) tilts well to the east.
27. Koa kaulaliki loa: (the moon) is very small.
28. Koa wakatau wenake ma te ulu o te ata matua: (the moon) rises at the same time as the darkness before dawn.
29. Koa wakatau wenake ma te ata maoa: (the moon) rises just at the first streaks of gray dawn.
30. Koa wenake ma te ata kena: (the moon) rises just at gray dawn.

[31. Koa wakatau wenake ma te la: (the moon) rises with the sun.]

ASTRONOMY

821 773 [178 162] Pukapukan study of the heavens seems to have been governed by the use of the stars and planets as guides for seasonal and fishing changes and the use of the stars as guides for long sea voyages. With the decadence of sea voyaging, much of the old-time lore fell into disuse and was lost. Puyaka, the great expert in star lore at the time of Tuiva committed suicide and took with him to his grave much esoteric star lore. Informants were sure that Pukapukan knowledge of the stars is today but a remnant of former knowledge. The younger men now know only a few star names, some of which they can not even identify. The legend of Maui (1) accounts for the way in which Maui's stars were placed in the sky. Maui was later asked by the gods to count all the stars, a feat which he accomplished. Beyond this, informants could say nothing about the origin of stars.